DOCUMENT RESUME

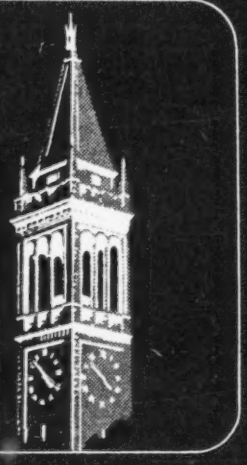
ED 042 435 24 HE 001 794

AUTHOR	Deegan, William L.; Mortimer, Kenneth P.
TITLE	Faculty in Governance at the University of Minnesota.
INSTITUTION	California Univ., Berkeley. Center for Research and Development in Higher Education.
SPONS AGENCY	Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C. National Center for Educational Research and Development.
BUREAU NO	BR-5-0248
PUB DATE	70
CONTRACT	OEC-6-10-106
NOTE	64p.
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$3.30
DESCRIPTORS	College Faculty, Decision Making, Educational Policy, *Faculty, *Governance, *Higher Education, *Participation, Policy Formation, *Teacher Administrator Relationship, Teacher Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS	*Minnesota University

ABSTRACT

This is 1 of 3 related case studies of faculty in college and university government. The purpose was to investigate: the formal mechanisms and the informal practices of faculty participation in governance; the emergence of oligarchies and the relationships of these "ruling" groups to faculty constituencies and administrative agencies; and formal and informal methods of liaison between faculty and administration. In particular, an effort was made to investigate: (1) faculty participation in developing and implementing policies and procedures concerning faculty personnel, budget, curriculum, and educational policy; (2) the structure and operation of the faculty senate; and (3) the degree of centralization in decision making. The major findings were: there was little or no central University administrative or faculty review of personnel or curriculum. The faculty voice was least influential in matters relating to educational policy and budget at the institution-wide level, though faculty played a significant role in decisions on educational policies within the colleges. There seemed to be a faculty oligarchy composed of persons who had served on many senate committees over a long period of time, and they seemed to work effectively with administrators. Faculty members generally respected administrators for their integrity and competence. (AF)

BR-5-0248
PA-24



The Center for
Research and Development in
Higher Education

ED042435

FACULTY IN GOVERNANCE
AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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University of California, Berkeley

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The research reported herein was supported by contract No. OE-6-10-106, Project No. 5-0248-2-3, with the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, under the provision of the Cooperative Research Program. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

PREFACE

The study reported here, on the University of Minnesota, is one of three related case studies of faculty in college and university government, the other two being the University of California at Berkeley and Fresno State College. All three studies, directed by T. R. McConnell, will serve as a basis for a subsequent comparative monograph on faculty government.

The three case studies were undertaken to explore how the faculty in a large complex institution organizes itself bureaucratically to carry on its work. Since faculty collegiality no longer survives except, perhaps, in a very small Oxford or Cambridge College, generally a limited number of faculty members conduct the business for their colleagues, except in crises. The purpose of the studies was three-fold:

To discover the composition of these "ruling" groups and how they operate;

To discover how, or whether, the membership of faculty oligarchies changes during periods of crisis; and

To explore the formal and informal relationships of academic senates and senate committees with the central administration.

Questions such as the following have been explored: Are there essentially separate faculty and administrative jurisdictions, or do faculty bodies and administrators participate together throughout the decision-making process? Is the structure of governance such as to encourage confrontation rather than shared authority? What are the evidences and causes of strained relationships between faculty and administration? What methods have been used to reduce tension and to resolve controversy? Is the pattern of governance conducive to educational leadership? Does it restrict administrative initiative and influence?

The proposed comparative monograph also will deal with these questions. In addition, it will discuss tensions, and in some instances confrontations, between faculties and governing boards, as well as the constraints placed upon faculties and particular institutions by systemwide governance and administration and by statewide coordinating agencies. All these are factors which determine who gains and who loses in the redistribution of power and influence over colleges and universities.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research reported here was accomplished with the support of the Bureau of Institutional Research at the University of Minnesota. The Bureau's Acting Director, Ralph Berdie, received our requests for information generously. Miss Dorolese Wardwell, the Bureau's Principal Executive Secretary, searched files and gathered information at our request. She also arranged a complicated schedule of interviews for four separate visits to the campus, and her cheerful attitude and cooperation were delightful.

A special note of thanks is due Dr. Ruth E. Eckert, Professor of Higher Education at Minnesota. Dr. Eckert made the data from her work on the Academic Senate and its committees available to us, and it is quoted from at length in this report. Her interest in the project and her suggestions for its completion were helpful.

The researchers wish to express their appreciation to those faculty and administrators who submitted to in-depth interviews. Their cooperation made the study possible.

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INTRODUCTION

The objectives of this project are to analyze the relationships between the practical problems of faculty participation in university governance and selected theoretical questions of organizational and political behavior. These questions are reflected in the principal phases of the project: 1) faculty response to change, either planned or precipitous; 2) the formal mechanisms and the informal practices of faculty participation in university governance; 3) the emergence of oligarchies and the relationships of these "ruling" groups to faculty constituencies and administrative agencies; and 4) formal and informal methods of liaison between faculty and administrative agencies.

The whole field of university governance is one in which changes are occurring rapidly, changes which may have far-reaching impact on the viability of academic structures and functions. This report will provide a much needed base for identifying the major issues and dynamic processes of accommodation involved in faculty self-government and faculty participation in university government.

TOPICS STUDIED

Since the main concern of the study was to try to determine

the extent of faculty participation in governance at the University of Minnesota, the following areas were investigated: faculty participation in the development and implementation of policies and procedures concerning personnel matters, the budget, curriculum, and educational policy; the structure and operation of the faculty senate; the degree of centralization or decentralization in decision-making; and faculty-administrative relationships.

METHODOLOGY

The two basic sources of data were analysis of documents and in-depth interviews. The documentary analysis included Senate minutes from 1956 through January 1970, college and Senate constitutions and bylaws, selected committee reports, research studies conducted by Dr. Ruth E. Eckert and the Bureau of Institutional Research, and the formal documents of the university.

The interviews were conducted over a thirteen-month period from December 1968 through January 1970. During this time, visits ranging from two days to one week were made to the Twin Cities campus by various members of the project staff in December 1968, January, May, and June of 1969, and January 1970. Interviews lasted for approximately one hour and some individuals were interviewed twice.

No attempt at a random selection of interviewees was made; persons were selected because they were members of specific committees, the central or college administration, and/or officers of the Senate. When an individual was named in interviews as being

especially influential on the problem under consideration, he was subsequently scheduled for an interview.

A total of 52 interviews were conducted with 44 individuals. The range of administrative units and levels interviewed were: three vice-presidents and two staff assistants; two administrative deans and four associate administrative deans; and four college deans and two associate deans.

Faculty members from the following colleges or institutes were interviewed: Agriculture, Biological Sciences, Business, Education, Graduate School, Law, Liberal Arts, Medical Sciences, and Technology.

Members of the following Senate committees were also interviewed: Business and Rules, Committee on Committees, Educational Policy, Faculty Consultative Committee, Planning, Student Affairs, and University Administrative Committee.

Limitations

Certain restrictions on the scope of the report should be mentioned. Because the primary concern was with faculty participation in the internal governance of the university, certain external factors--among them the State Legislature and the Board of Regents--were not systematically investigated for their impact on governance. The constraints of limited time, staff, and resources precluded any systematic investigation of the influence of these agencies except where there had been direct intervention with respect to a particular

concern of the study.

The research is primarily concerned with governance at the campus level. Internal college governance patterns are described to illustrate traditions of autonomy at Minnesota and such descriptions are limited to the colleges specified. Little attention was directed towards departmental governance or the relations of deans with department chairmen.

It was not possible to examine all Senate committees in detail or the entire scope of Senate activities. Neither was there any systematic attempt made to assess the degree of support for existing governance structures; when it became apparent that there was marked dissent, however, the researchers sought to interview the dissenters.

Finally, 1968-69 was a year of transition for the University of Minnesota. The Senate was in the process of reorganization, and some adjustments at the vice-presidential level were being made. It is always difficult to assess accurately the effects of changes while they are being made, and the research on which this report is based was completed in January 1970.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

The report discusses the organizational and administrative operations of the university, then describes the university Senate, its history, the politics of a recent change in its structure, and some Senate committee operations. Governance patterns on the

matters of budget, personnel, curriculum, and educational policy are described next, and faculty-administrative relations are discussed, including a description of the new radical organization, the Faculty Action Caucus. A summary section concludes the report.

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

The Board of Regents is the governing body of the University of Minnesota. There are twelve regents chosen by the state legislature, customarily one from each of Minnesota's eight congressional districts and four from the state at large, with the president of the university as ex officio president of the board. Regents serve for six-year terms without pay.

With respect to the president's powers, the university Senate's constitution (July 1969) states that:

> ...He shall have general administrative authority over University affairs. He may suspend action taken by any Senate, by any campus assembly, by any college faculty or by any student constituency and ask for a reconsideration of such action. If the President and a Senate, a campus assembly, a college faculty or a student constituency do not reach agreement on the action, the question may be appealed to the Regents by the President or by any Senate, or any campus assembly, or college faculty, or student constituency [p. 1].

The regents appoint seven vice-presidents--for Administration, Academic Administration, Planning and Development, Investments, Student Affairs, Consultant to the President, and one to Coordinate Campuses and Educational Relationships. The vice-presidents

for Planning and Development and for Investments were new positions created and filled in the summer and fall of 1969.

The University Seante is the major organization for faculty participation in governance at the campus level.

THE UNIVERSITY SENATE, 1966-69

The University Senate was reconstituted as of July 1969, and its reorganization is described in a later section of this report. The present discussion is conserned with Senate structure from 1966 to the reorganization, and the subsequent discussion with the Senate prior to 1966.

The University Senate was the voice of the faculty. "It has legislative control over educational matters concerning the University as a whole, but not over the internal affairs of any individual college, institute, or school except where these overlap or materially affect the interests of other colleges or of the University as a whole (Senate Constitution, 1966)."

From 1966-69, the University Senate was an elected (or representative) senate, in contrast to the town meeting type that was found at Berkeley. As such, it was composed of representatives of the various institutes, colleges, schools of collegiate rank, and the Mayo Graduate School of Medicine; the president of the university; and the members of the University Administrative Committee, who served as ex officio non-voting members of the Senate.

The representatives were chosen by secret ballot by the faculties of the several institutes, colleges, or schools of collegiate rank as follows:

> The regular members of each faculty who are professors, associate professors, or assistant professors (including research associates) shall jointly elect from their rank (professors, associate professors, and assistant professors) one Senate member for each ten of their regular members or fraction of that number holding such ranks (Senate Constitution, p. 3).

(The Mayo Graduate School of Medicine, however, was entitled to four representatives). There was no executive committee, and the president of the university served as chairman of the Senate. In addition, a vice-chairman who served for a term of one year and was eligible for re-election was elected by the Senate at its first meeting of the year. A clerk was appointed by the president with the consent of the Senate.

The Senate met at least twice each quarter at a time and place determined by the president. Special meetings could be called by the president or upon the written request of ten members of the Senate or 20 voting members of the faculties. A quorum was attained when a majority of the Senate membership was present, and in 1968-69, when the membership was 209, a quorum was 105 members. All members of the faculty who held regular appointment as defined in the Regulations Concerning Academic Tenure could be present at Senate meetings and were entitled to speak and to offer

motions for Senate action. Non-senate members were not entitled to vote.

History of the Senate

The Senate of the University of Minnesota came into being when its proposed constitution was adopted by the Board of Regents on May 5, 1912. As H. T. Morse (1964) wrote, "It is interesting to note the somewhat cautious language involving the delegation of responsibilities:"

> All matters of detail including those incident to the management of the student body, relating to the educational and administrative affairs of the University, except insofar as the Board may think proper to act directly are, for the purposes of effectuating the government and educational management of the University under and by the Board of Regents, committed to the President, the University Senate, and the several college faculties [p. 4].

In those days, membership in the Senate was restricted to the tenured ranks (professor or associate professor). Eventually, the tremendous growth of the faculty made the Senate so unwieldy and ineffective that, according to Morse (1964) "it ceased to have any real significance." Attendance became so lax that critical problems of all-university concern tended to bypass the Senate.

In 1950 some members of the Minnesota chapter of the American Association of University Professors felt that the time had come to insure a more effective faculty voice in the affairs of the institution. One respondent reported that there was some faculty antagonism towards the administration, and the Faculty Consultative Committee

was elected to help reduce tension and provide a more direct channel for direct faculty-administrative communication.

Suggestions were made periodically about the possible revision of the constitution and the constituency of the Senate and finally, in 1952, the Senate charged its own Committee on Education to study the possible reorganization of the Senate, giving central consideration to faculty participation in policy formation.

In the spring of 1954, after two years of study, the committee presented the proposed revised constitution, which was approved after more than two hours of heated debate and discussion. The major changes (Morse, 1964) were:

1. The membership was changed from automatic inclusion of professors and associate professors to a representative body in which members were elected by their colleagues. This reduced the size of the Senate from 727 to 132 members.
2. The nontenured ranks were also represented (instructors and assistant professors), at a ratio of one representative for each ten such members or fraction thereof in voting units. A later amendment restricted voting and elected membership to faculty members holding the rank of assistant professor or above.
3. Those groups with whom the president of the university needed to confer on general policy were brought into

a single body (faculty members elected to the Senate the deans of the colleges and other chief administrative officials, and the Faculty Consultative Committee).

4. A new standing Committee on Senate Committees was established "to review the number and scope of standing committees of the Senate." This committee has been active and influential since its creation.
5. Regular meetings were to be held twice each academic quarter, instead of only once.
6. Each of the major instructional units of the university were to have direct elected representation.
7. Meetings of the Senate were to be closed, although all members of the faculty who held regular appointment could be present at meetings and were entitled to speak and offer motions, but not to vote. Members of the Administrative Committee were ex officio nonvoting members, and student members of Senate committees were to be admitted to the Senate for the duration of the discussion of the report of that committee.

The new constitution retained most of the provisions regarding the authority and duties of the Senate, stating that:

> The Senate shall have general legislative authority over educational matters concerning the University as a whole, but not over the

> internal affairs of a single institute, college, or school of collegiate rank, except where these materially affect the interests of the University as a whole or the interests of other institutes, colleges, or schools (Morse, 1964).

However, as Morse wrote, it is not an easy task to determine the exact meaning of this language. The ambiguity about the powers of the Senate, the rights of the individual colleges or schools, and the authority of the central administration might make it possible for the president of the university to bypass the Senate on many important issues if he so wished. Fortunately, President O. Meredith Wilson established a precedent by bringing major questions to the Senate for debate, thus contributing to the organization's growth and legitimacy.

Debate over a major question also led to the disenfranchisement of the deans (and members of the University Administrative Committee) who had previously been voting members of the Senate. There was a serious conflict in 1960 over whether or not the University of Minnesota would participate in the Rose Bowl. In the previous year the Senate had adopted a policy not to let the football team go to the Bowl, but when the Minnesota team won the Big Ten Championship in 1960, the issue of participation in the Rose Bowl was brought up for reconsideration in the Senate. After heated debate, the Academic Senate reversed its non-Rose Bowl policy and sent the team to the contest.

Some members of the Senate and other faculty members complained that the deans and the administrative members of the faculty had voted as the president told them to vote, and this discontent resulted in the Senate being reorganized to the extent that, while administrative members retained their prerogative to attend meetings, they were stripped of their voting privileges.

A New Senate Organization

On July 1, 1969 a new Senate Constitution and Bylaws went into effect. The story of these changes provides an interesting insight into the process of change in faculty and university governance.

The impetus for significant change in Senate structure can be traced to the Committee on Senate Committees' report of March 7, 1968. Interviews with members of the committee and the report itself revealed four major problems:

1. It was held that "the present organization of the faculty . . . does not recognize adequately the multiple campus composition of the University." Basically, the Senate was a Twin Cities organization and the Morris and Duluth faculties were inadequately represented (eventually Crookston was added). The committee proposed the creation of a University Senate and three separate assemblies, one each at Morris, Duluth, and the Twin Cities campuses. If this model were to be adopted, certain functions of the old Senate would have to be redistributed to the new Senate and to a Twin Cities Faculty Assembly.

2. The mechanics of Senate operation needed improvement. The committee argued that committee reports on substantive issues be regularized, that the size of some committees be limited or reduced, that committees receive adequate administrative support staff, and that the length of terms and methods of committee appointment be more clearly specified.

3. Differentiation was needed between standing committees concerned with broad questions (such as the Educational Policy Committee, which should report directly to the Senate) and standing committees (such as a Library Committee, which dealt with more specific problems and should report through a parent committee).

4. Joint faculty-administrative appointment of task forces was recommended, as a way of providing a fluid and flexible faculty mechanism for the rapid and intensive study of more specific subjects.

These four problems were of prime concern to the Committee on Senate Committees, but during the course of deliberation, the need for increased student representation on the Senate became an issue of some contention. The committee took the position that a wider consideration of this problem was appropriate and recommended the appointment of a task force to report on the matter. The Task Force on Student Representation was appointed by President Moos in the spring of 1968 and issued its report on January 2, 1969.

The Report of the task force (1969) argued that "the university must take as its model a partnership, a sharing of responsibility,

rather than the fragmented power struggle represented by separatist walls protecting student power, faculty power, and administrative power." The task force reasoned that such a model required extensive student participation in decision making. The report then made detailed proposals for selection and election of student senators (one for each 1,000 students in each of 18 voting units), and for students on Senate and Assembly Committees. It was recommended that 62 students be added to the Twin Cities Assembly and 75 students to the University Senate. This proposal was incorporated into the legislation introduced by the Committee on Senate Committees and presented to the University Senate on March 6, 1969.

There was little opposition to most of the structural details of this proposal, but significant opposition to such widespread student representation on the Senate did develop. According to interview respondents, opponents were sufficiently large in number to deny the two-thirds majority needed to pass the new constitution.

The opposition to student membership on the Senate coalesced around the position stated in a memo by Carl A. Auerbach (1969), Professor of Law, which was widely distributed through the campus mail. Holding that it is possible to define and separate jurisdictions of faculty, students, and administrators and that it is proper to do so, Auerbach examined Senate minutes for the previous ten years and listed the items of business that passed through it under three categories: 1) Those matters which should be entrusted entirely

to student decision, such as the organization of student government and social events policy; 2) Those matters which should be jointly decided by both faculty and students, such as class scheduling, student conduct policies, intercollegiate athletics, and campus demonstration policy; and 3) Those matters in which students should not be involved, such as faculty tenure regulations, questions of academic organization, research policy, grading systems, and long-range planning.

The Auerbach memo urged that the present student government be restructured and that students have the fullest opportunity to be heard through substantial representation on Senate committees. It also urged acceptance of the new Senate structure, a University Senate, and Campus Assemblies, but without the changes proposed by the Task Force on Student Representation.

A compromise between the task force and the position taken by supporters of the Auerbach position was incorporated into the Bylaws of the Twin Cities Campus Assembly, and eventually into those of the University Senate. An Assembly Steering Committee was created, composed of seven elected members of the faculty, five elected members of the student body, and the vice-chairman of the Assembly, ex officio. The key clause in the compromise between the pro-student task force position and that represented by the Auerbach memo is that the Steering Committee is charged to delegate particular functions of the Assembly for exclusive action by either

the Faculty Assembly or the Student Assembly. In effect, the decisions about which issues are to be decided jointly and which are to be handled exclusively by one party will be made by the Steering Committee.

This compromise broke the legislative log jam and resulted in passage of a new University Senate Constitution and Bylaws and a Twin Cities Campus Assembly Constitution and Bylaws. The legislation was approved on April 10, 1969. Only 124 regular members attended, but since 140 affirmative votes were needed to provide the two-thirds majority, 16 alternates were present and voted.

A University Senate and Three Assemblies

According to the constitution and bylaws of the University Senate (1969) the new University Senate has the power "to recognize campus assemblies as official campus legislative and policy making bodies . . . [and] may delegate authority and responsibility to campus assemblies in educational matters concerning one campus of the University," although individual campuses are free to determine their own Constitution and Bylaws. The Bylaws of the Twin Cities Assembly (1969) state that faculty and students elected to the University Senate from institutes, colleges, or schools on the Twin Cities Campus shall be deemed elected to the Twin Cities Assembly, in effect establishing this assembly as a subset of the University Senate.

The creation of separate and largely autonomous campus assemblies designed to deal with local problems was intended to

answer a basic concern for the multicampus structure of the university. The new constitution states that one representative be elected for every 20 faculty members (it was formerly one for every ten) and every 1,000 students. The right to vote was extended to those holding the rank of instructor.

Faculty-Student Senates and Assemblies. The University Senate is composed of the president of the university, members of the University Administrative Committee as ex officio nonvoting members, members of the Senate Consultative Committee, and elected faculty and student representatives. The Twin Cities Assembly is composed of the above groups who are from the Twin Cities Campus. The Faculty Senate and Assembly are composed of elected faculty representatives, and elected student representatives comprise the Student Senate and Twin Cities Assembly.

As noted earlier, the essential allocation of functions to separate student or faculty Senates was a key issue to be resolved in the Senate Consultative Committee. To that end, the following was written into the Senate Constitution:

> In general, functions allocated to the Student Senate shall include but not be limited to matters of student government, student organizations, and student publications.
>
> In general, functions allocated to the Faculty Senate include but are not limited to accreditation, designation and granting of University honors, policies concerning faculty appointment and tenure, and matters within the jurisdiction of the Faculty Affairs and Judicial Committees.

> In case of disagreement by the Faculty Consultative Committee or the Student Consultative Committee with a decision of the Senate Consultative Committee concerning the allocation of functions, either committee may refer the matter to the University Senate for resolution (Article III, section 3).

As of January 1970, however, nothing had been allocated exclusively to one or the other of these bodies, and the faculty-student Senates and Assemblies were handling all matters jointly.

Classification of Committees

The new University Senate formal documents and those of the Twin Cities Assembly create a new level of committee. Whereas the previous Senate provided for standing and special committees, the new organization has two classes of standing committee: Senate committees, which deal with broad and continuing areas of university concern and are responsible directly to the Senate, and university committees, which are assigned a relationship and responsibility to Senate committees and make their initial report to an appropriate Senate committee.

In the Twin Cities Assembly, a similar distinction is made between Assembly committees and campus committees in that the latter report to the former. Those who prepared the legislation, however, were careful to point out, when interviewed, that university and/or campus committees were not to be jurisdictional subcommittees of Senate and assembly committees respectively.

Appendix A shows how the committee structure was changed

under the new Constitutions and Bylaws. There are ten Senate committees, reported to by 11 university committees. The leader is the Senate Committee on Educational Policy, which has a relationship with five university committees. There are five Assembly committees and seven campus committees, four of which have a relationship with the Assembly Committee on Educational Policy.

The following section of this report will describe four Senate committees in some detail. The data are based on interviews and documents which refer, except where noted, to the pre-July 1969 Senate. One might expect the corresponding committees of the new Senate to operate in essentially the same fashion. Changes in formal structure or informal practices are noted where appropriate.

The Committee on Senate Committees. In 1968-69 all members of standing or special committees of the Senate were appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate, except for the Faculty Consultative Committee (which was elected) and the University Administrative Committee (which was composed of the president, the vice-presidents, and the deans), and the Senate Committee on Committees. The Faculty Consultative Committee nominated candidates, twice as many as were to be elected, for the Senate Committee on Committees. At the last regular Senate meeting of the academic year, the Senate elected, by secret ballot, one-third of the members of the Committee on Committees, who served for a three-year term. The president then appointed a chairman from the ranks of the elected Committee on Committees.

The July 1969 Bylaws provide for election of eight faculty and five students for the Committee on Senate Committees. The five faculty and three students elected from the Twin Cities campus comprise the Committee on Assembly Committees, whose duties were described as follows:

> ...shall review the number, scope and functions of the committees of the Senate and shall make appropriate recommendations thereon to the Senate. It shall assist the President in his appointment of committees by furnishing him with a slate of twice the number of faculty and student members to be appointed to standing committees as specified in the Bylaws or Rules for each standing committee, giving consideration to geographical representation from the various collegiate campuses when this is appropriate, the principles of rotation of committee assignments and the recommendations of the respective committee chairmen, faculty and student members. Faculty members shall furnish the committee a slate of faculty nominees and student members shall furnish the committee a slate of student nominees. (Senate Bylaws Article III, section 3).
>
> (Underlined words and phrases are changes made in the previous year's document when the 1969 document was prepared.)

The Committee on Committees' yearly survey of faculty interest in serving on Senate committees was found to be generally low. The committee reported 466 responses to its survey of faculty willingness to serve in 1967-68.

Some faculty feel that the Senate is run by a select few; as several respondents stated, "The same old comfortable faces keep appearing." A Senate Committee on Committees had been established in the early 1950s to try to broaden the membership of the Senate

committees and thereby make them more representative of the entire academic community.

Dr. Ruth Eckert (1970) assessed the extent to which Senate committees were dominated by a "faculty oligarchy." She compared faculty participation on Senate committees in the past with participation since the inception of the Committee on Committees and found that membership had not been broadened very extensively when the three-year period, 1965-68, was compared with her 1959 figures for the years 1945-48 and 1955-58. In terms of academic rank, junior faculty members actually fared less well in Senate committee appointments than they did before the Committee on Senate Committees was initiated. In the 1970 study, Eckert wrote:

> When the figures for the two senior ranks are consolidated, the percentage advanced from 74.4 percent for the 1945-48 period to 80.4 percent for 1955-58 and to 85.4 percent in more recent years (with the Administrative and Consultative Committee excluded, as they had been in earlier comparisons). In other words, the proportion of associate and full professors on Senate committees continute to advance, even though the Senate itself had been reconstituted in 1954 to provide representation of junior faculty members [p. 13].

The data also reveal gradations in the number of Senate committees on which a staff member had served. Seven-tenths (68.2 percent) of those staff members who were on any Senate committee from 1965-68 were on only one. Twenty-one percent served on two committees, and the remaining 9.8 percent were on three to six different Seante committees.

The tendency of a small percentage of faculty to remain involved in Senate activities over time is also documented by Dr. Eckert (1970). Of those who were on any Senate committee from 1965 to 1968 "a fourth (24.7 percent) of all faculty members served for only a single year (on Senate committees), and 52.6 percent served for two or three years. In contrast, 13.3 percent of the appointees accumulated six to ten years of such service. Had this analysis been extended over a decade or more, differences in length of service would have been far more striking [p. 10]."

Evidently the apathy of a large percentage of faculty and the high level of interest of a small percentage produced a relatively senior faculty oligarchy which participated heavily on Senate committees—both in terms of number of committees served on and length of service. The existence of a Committee on Senate Committees appears to have done little to lessen this concentration of responsibility. The hold of the oligarchy may actually have increased through the control of the appointment process and the relative decrease in participation by junior faculty on the committees during the sample period. (Previous to 1954, the president had appointed the committees without formal nomination by the Senate.)

University Administrative Committee. The University Administrative Committee is composed, as it was before the reorganization of 1969, of the president, the vice-presidents, the provosts, the deans, and such other members of the university staff as may be

added to it by the president with Senate approval. In practice the committee is strictly an administrative committee and does not have any faculty members on it.

The charge to the Administrative Committee (Senate Bylaws, 1969) states that:

"The committee shall advise the President concerning the general educational, administrative, and fiscal policies of the University and aid the President in effectuating the policies of the University. It shall have such further administrative and advisory functions as may be delegated to it by the President or the Senate. It shall report regularly to the Senate [p. 10]."

Interview respondents stated that the University administrative Committee is actually a presidential council that consults with the president on any matter of major importance. Attempting to stay out of internal college matters, the committee deals only with problems which cut across colleges, but gives consideration to both large philosophical questions and trivia. It has recently discussed such major questions as the all-university budget, policies for tenure and promotion, special programs for the disadvantaged, the Morill Hall Sit-In, equal employment opportunity policies at the university, the university calendar, noon office hours, and salaries for teaching assistants (a minute part of the budget).

Although some interviewees felt that too much time is wasted on trivial questions, both faculty and administrators generally

viewed the University Administrative Committee as an effective agency. The committee allows the president an opportunity to present and hear proposals, problems, and new ideas, and serves as a general council that represents all major administrative units of the university. It is in the capacity of general council that the University Administrative Committee is most effective. As will be discussed later in this report, its power on any specific issue is more limited.

Faculty Consultative Committee. In addition to the Administrative Committee, there is another major committee that serves as a general council to the president--the Faculty Consultative Committee. In 1968-69 the committee was composed of seven elected faculty members plus representatives from the St. Paul and Duluth campuses. Elected members served for three-year terms, and only those faculty who held appointments at the rank of professor or associate professor could be nominated for membership or could vote for committee members. The committee represented the faculty at large and not individual institutes, colleges, schools, or departments of the university. The president of the university appointed the chairman of the committee, and consecutive service by elected members could not exceed two terms.

In the new organization, the Senate Consultative Committee is composed of nine elected faculty members and seven elected students plus the vice-chairman of the Senate ex officio. The seven faculty and five students elected from the Twin Cities campus comprise the

Assembly Steering Committee. For both the University Senate and the Twin Cities Assembly, the elected faculty comprise the Faculty Consultative (or Steering) Committee and the elected students comprise the Student Consultative (or Steering) Committee. In practice, the student and faculty representatives had not met to consider matters separately up to January 1970, although they may do so.

It is important to note that the Consultative (or Steering) Committees now serve as coordinating and executive committees of the Senate and/or Assembly. The Senate Consultative Committee is charged to be a coordinating committee between administrative officers and the Senate and to put important matters on the Senate agenda, supervise the order of business, and perform other housekeeping functions appropriate to an executive committee. The Assembly Steering Committee has a similar function and, as was reported earlier, is responsible for allocating problems to the Faculty or Student Assemblies or to the Assembly, as it deems appropriate.

The Senate Consultative Committee is charged to meet with the president at least quarterly to discuss matters of educational personnel and/or budgetary policies. Although the committee is not formally invested with the authority to act in behalf of the Senate, it will probably serve as an important faculty-student-administration point of contact in any campus crisis or emergency.

The future evolution of the Senate Consultative Committee and the Assembly Steering Committees will have important consequences for the viability of the student-faculty form of representation embraced by the new University of Minnesota Senate. The crucial question is what balance of faculty-student involvement in decision making will be achieved in the series of ad hoc decisions reached by the Consultative and Steering Committees during the next two or three years.

In 1968-69 the relationship of the Faculty Consultative Committee to the president appeared to be similar to that of the University Administrative Committee. As one respondent put it, "The roles played by the two committees are about the same, only the actors change." As is the case with the Administrative Committee, there was no fixed agenda. Both the president and the Faculty Consultative Committee could initiate discussion, and the committee served as a general sounding board for approaches to policies and problems. Recent matters that have been considered by the Faculty Consultative Committee include budgetary policies, student representation in university planning, and a review of functions and policies in business administration. The committee was also used as a screening committee to help the Regents select a new president. Some faculty have tried to use the Faculty Consultative Committee as a grievance committee, but this has been resisted in order to retain the role of general counsel to the president.

Committee on Educational Policy. Under the old constitution, the Committee on Educational Policy had at least 11 members, including ex officio representatives from the president's and the academic vice-president's offices, and two appointed students. Under the new bylaws, the committee is composed of no more than eight faculty, four students, and some ex officio members.

The charge to the committee in both the old (1966, p. 11) and new (1969, p. 13) bylaws is to "seek ways in which the total educational work of the University may be improved and [to] make recommendations to that end."

A strong tradition of constituent college autonomy at Minnesota has dictated that the committee consider only matters with cross-college implications. A systematic analysis of the committee's reports to the Senate from 1957-58 to 1968-69 reveals that the committee dealt with a wide range of issues, either directly or through sub-committees created for specific problems. Some of these were: curriculum offerings on the Twin Cities campus, attraction and retention of faculty, proposals to unify the mathematics departments, the creation of a College of Biological Sciences, university reorganization and liberal education, a proposal to create a Council on Liberal Education, reorganization of the College of Liberal Arts, class schedules, and a policy on continuing education. Each of these issues was then considered by the entire Senate. Interviews revealed that the committee currently was working on policies for classified research and the place of ROTC on the campus.

There is no codified statement about what constitutes a cross-college matter, except that liberal education is so defined, and the range of committee activities is quite broad. Interview respondents pointed out that many of the issues handled by the committee have been assigned to it either by the Senate or the administration.

Under the new Senate and assembly structure, the Senate Committee on Educational Policy will have a relationship with five university committees: the Council on Liberal Education and the university committees on Extension, Computing Facilities, Instructional Materials, and Summer Sessions. The Assembly Committee on Educational Policy will work with four Campus Committees: Convocation and the Arts, Educational Services, Honors Programs, and ROTC. The ambiguous role of the Committee on Educational Policy in general educational policy matters is discussed later in this report.

FACULTY PARTICIPATION ON SELECTED ISSUES

Four main issues were identified and traced through the decision-making processes in order to determine governance patterns on specific issues: the preparation and implementation of the budget, personnel decisions, curricular decisions, and the development of educational policy.

BUDGET

Provision for faculty consultation on the budget was made in both the old (1966, p. 2) and new (1969, p. 1) university

Senate Constitutions:

> The President, as chief executive officer of the University, shall have final authority to make budgetary recommendations to the Regents. However, in view of the necessary weighing of educational policies and objectives involved, he shall consult with and ask for the recommendations of the University Administrative Committee and the Senate Consultative Committee concerning such budgetary recommendations as materially affect the University as a whole.

In practice, faculty participation in the budget-making process has been limited. Most faculty evidently have neither the time nor the interest to devote to the complexities and negotiations involved in the preparation of a budget. Some faculty do fight for a special interest (e.g., a new lab or additional funds for a special program), but participation in the overall budget-making process is minimal.

Briefly, in 1968-69, the budgetary process (excluding capital funding) began with a request from the Academic Vice-president's office for a statement of budgetary needs. Deans and department chairmen were asked to separate these needs into six general areas: 1) enrollment-related needs, 2) programmatic needs, 3) supply and expense needs, 4) civil service aid needs, 5) construction needs, and 6) special items. These were first reviewed by the departments, but there was no definite pattern for faculty consultation in departments. In some departments, such as in the school of business, there were department-wide meetings to discuss general programs; in other

departments, such as Soil Sciences, the budget was handled by the department chairman with some consultation with a few key faculty members. Interviews indicated that consultation tended to be limited to generalities--programs, directions, and evaluations, rather than details.

Deans and department chairmen then discussed ideas and requests, and a virst draft of a college proposal was sent to the Academic Vice-president's office. At the same time, the Academic Vice-president was discussing college needs and proposals and general budgetary principles with the other university vice-presidents, the president, the Faculty Consultative Committee, and the University Administrative Committee. Out of these "cabinet" meetings and the review of college statements of needs came a general framework for the budget. This framework took the form of a statement which was available to the faculty. The statement, or general budget plan, for 1969-70 addressed itself to discussions on problems and priorities in the following 12 areas:

1. Enrollment
2. Tuition
3. Salary increases and promotions
4. Minimum and fixed rates of compensation
5. Civil service pay plan
6. Insurance and retirement
7. Academic and civil service positions
8. Deployment of resources
9. Erosion of physical education costs borne by athletics
10. Budgeting of research overhead funds
11. Funding of permanent staff for teacher replacement
12. Supplies, expenses, and equipment

Biennial requests were then sent to the legislature. When the legislature actually made a biennial appropriation to the

university, it came as a lump sum in four general areas:

1. Academic salary improvements, promotions, and fringe benefits
2. Additional academic staff
3. Civil service staff
4. Supplies, expenses, and equipment

In addition to lump sums in these general areas, the university also received a line-item budget for capital funding and special items.

The legislature's mood was evidently to want more accountability from the university on how money was being spent. More riders were being attached to budgetary items. For example, when the university recently asked for more funds for supplies and expense, it received an increase, but with the requirement that a very detailed accounting be made to the legislature on how the additional money was used.

Once the central administration received the appropriation from the legislature, it then apportioned funds internally on two main bases: formulas and discretionary estimates of needs. Interviewees estimated that between 60 and 80 percent of the budget was allocated by formula determined by the vice-presidential group. Some of the kinds of formulas that play a role in determining the various college budgets include:

1. Amount of lower division work (nonlaboratory)
2. Amount of upper division work (nonlaboratory)
3. Amount of lower division work (laboratory)
4. Amount of upper division work (laboratory)
5. Amount of master's degree work
6. Amount of doctoral work
7. Amount of Health Sciences work

In addition to formula considerations, some funds are held back to be used for special or discretionary purposes. For example, the university recently received a 6 1/2 percent increase for salary improvement, but one percent was held back by the administration, and each college got 5 1/2 percent. It has also been customary for a dean to retain some of this increment for discretionary use within his college: One dean withheld .7 percent of this money for use at his discretion. The informal system worked so that individual department chairmen could argue their needs with the dean in order to receive some of these discretionary funds. Similarly, deans could and did approach the Academic Vice-president for increased shares of his discretionary funds. This informal arrangement led one respondent to characterize the University of Minnesota budgetary process as one which provided for the existence of numerous "honey pots" in which discretionary funds were occasionally available if one knew which button to push.

In essence, faculty participation in the budget-making process at Minnesota was limited to general statements about programs and needs. The real power in budgetary decisions appeared to reside in the vice-presidential group. The deans had to make a case to this group for extra funds, and it appeared that the legislature was in a mood to demand more accountability for how funds were being spent. The Faculty Consultative Committee and the University Administrative Committee did exercise some influence on the general

direction that the budget took, but their influence was limited by the existence of formulas, by their limited time and information, and by their ability to persuade the vice-presidents and the president, the real decision-making group.

PERSONNEL

Faculty participation in personnel matters is more substantive and pervasive than in budget. Although individual colleges differ in their machinery for handling academic personnle, the general process is as follows: Faculty in departments generally vote on promotion and tenure decisions, with those of senior rank voting on those of lower rank. The results of this vote are then passed along either to a college review committee (Institute of Technology) or directly to the dean (College of Liberal Arts). The candidate's vita plus outside letters of recommendation are also transmitted.

If the review committee and/or the dean concur in the appointment or promotion, the candidate's papers are usually sent to the Graduate Dean, who makes an independent determination of the candidate's acceptability to supervise graduate research projects, and must render a decision in cases where the candidate is being considered for appointment to the Graduate School. In practice, all tenure appointments are considered by the Graduate Dean, and many deans and department chairmen route all their personnel cases to his office as a matter of courtesy. If both the dean of the college and the Graduate Dean concur, the recommendation for appointment or promotion is made to the Academic Vice-president. No substantive

review is exercised above the college level either by the faculty or the administration. The Academic Vice-president passes the recommendations on personnel matters to the president and then on to the Regents of the university, who hold final authority on personnel matters.

Review of personnel cases begins with the department vote and continues with the review of both the dean of the college and the Graduate Dean. Interviewees indicated that the primary criteria used in review of personnel cases are:

1. Scholarly ability--number of publications, quality of the journals in which publications appear, other contributions to scholarship (e.g., professional society activities, etc.)
2. Teaching record--teaching load, evaluations of quality of teaching, awards, etc.
3. Evaluation of his peers--departmental vote, letters from outside sources.
4. Other contributions to the college--committee service, special activities, etc.

There is an attempt by the central administration to discourage excessive inbreeding in a department or college, but this is more of a general policy than a matter of explicit review, and it appears to be exercised through informal contacts rather than in the formal personnel procedures.

The general university policy on promotions (Faculty Information Bulletin, 1968) states that:

> Recommendations for promotion generally are made by the department head and must be subsequently approved by the dean, the President, and the Board of Regents. There are no fixed requirements about length of service before promotion [p. 12].

The general University policy on tenure states that:

> There are four classes of regular faculty positions: professor, associate professor, assistant professor (including research associate), and instructor (including research fellow). Unless there is a written agreement to the contrary, the following tenure rules apply to the regular positions:
>
> Professors and associate professors acquire indefinite tenure immediately upon attaining the rank unless it is stipulated otherwise.
>
> Assistant professors are appointed initially for two years. On or before June 15 of the calendar year immediately preceding the year in which his initial appointment terminates, an assistant professor is notified whether his appointment is to terminate at the end of the second year or is to be extended to include a third year. The same procedure is followed each year until the end of his fourth year, when the assistant professor will receive either a terminating appointment of one year or indefinite tenure.
>
> Instructors are appointed initially for one year. If the instructor is not to be reappointed at the end of his initial appointment, he is entitled to written notice on or before the preceding March 15. If he is not to be reappointed following his second or subsequent period of appointment, he is entitled to written notice on or before the preceding December 15. Ordinarily the maximum period of service at the rank of instructor is seven years [p. 12].

In essence, faculty participation in personnel decisions at the departmental and/or college level is both substantive and effective. Vetoes of departmental decisions by college and/or the graduate deans appear to be infrequent. The central administration does not veto except in an extreme case (there were none in 1968-69). The college and central administration try to head off problems within the colleges through informal contacts. Most central administrators felt that the review that takes place in the colleges is effective.

Since no systematic assessment was made of the quality of the Minnesota faculty, the extent of inbreeding in colleges and departments, or the degree of faculty satisfaction with the present personnel procedures, it is difficult to state exactly what the consequences of current personnel practices are. It is apparent, however, that there is a great deal of autonomy in the colleges, that the results of departmental votes carry a great deal of weight, and that substantive central review above the college level is rare. Most of the individuals interviewed were not sure about the existence of appeal or grievance procedures, but the ethic is not to appeal, and appeals, if any, are rare. Those individuals who did state an opinion generally felt that the present procedures for handling personnel decisions were adequate.

CURRICULUM

Faculty participation in the development and review of curricula at department and college levels is extensive. Although

individual colleges may differ, a typical college provision for the development and review of curricula is as follows: Each department has a curriculum committee which reviews individual proposals and programs. The departmental curriculum committee makes a recommendation and the entire faculty of the department votes on the proposal. The departmental recommendation then goes to an all-college curriculum committee (Institute of Technology) or to a divisional council (College of Liberal Arts). The composition of the college-wide review committee varies; for example, in the College of Liberal Arts the Divisional Council reviews proposals. There are three such councils--of the Humanities, of the Social Sciences, and of the Natural Sciences. Proposals are then sent to the all-college Curriculum Review Committee, which is primarily an administrative committee appointed by the dean and consisting of the dean, associate deans, and one student. The all-college Curriculum Review Committee reviews proposals from the Divisional Councils, but rarely vetoes Council recommendations.

In the Institute of Technology, proposals go directly from the departmental curriculum committee to the all-college Curriculum Review Committee, which is composed of one faculty member from each department. There is no representative from the dean's office on the all-college Curriculum Committee. This committee meets about three times per year to review curriculum proposals, but it was generally felt that the substantive review is actually done in the departmental review committee. The vast majority of cases go

through the all-college Curriculum Committee based on departmental recommendations. The feeling is that the knowledge that departmental recommendations are going to be reviewed helps to keep the departmental committee fairly rigorous in their review and helps eliminate the need for many vetoes.

The matter of review of curricula appears to be limited to review of new courses or program proposals. None of the units studied had a curriculum committee that exercised a periodic review of the curriculum as a whole.

Once matters leave the college or school, they are not subject to any further review by university-wide committees. The Academic Vice-president may get involved in questions of new degrees or new programs, but while he does attempt to warn colleges about proliferation of courses, he does not get involved in any central review of specific course proposals.

There are two main university-wide committees which are concerned with educational programs--the Educational Policy Committee and the University Council on Liberal Education. These deal with general matters of university-wide concern, but they do not involve themselves in the internal affairs of any particular college or unit unless a matter affects more than one unit or, as in the case of the Council on Liberal Education, where a unit might violate the minimum requirements for general education. On June 2, 1966 the Council on Liberal Education reported on the results of its requests

for reports from each college on its floor requirements for the Bachelor's degree. The council has had the responsibility for assuring that the colleges adopt Senate legislation on this matter, and it has persuaded several of them to modify the curricula to meet these requirements. The council has also urged the colleges to have greater flexibility with respect to grades and examinations.

In essence, faculty participation in the development, review, and implementation of curricula is the most important factor in determining the nature of departmental and college programs. The effective decision appears to be made in most cases at the departmental level, with college-wide review being mostly pro forma. There is no central review of course proposals above the college level unless there is a proposal for a new program or a new degree, in which case the Academic Vice-president reviews the proposal. Again, the autonomy of the colleges, and perhaps particularly in this case the departments, is clearly demonstrated.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The development of educational policies at Minnesota appears to be primarily a college concern. There are several university-wide committees that presumably deal with educational policies (the Educational Policy Committee, the all-college Council on Liberal Education, and the Long-Range Planning Committee), but these committees deal only with matters that concern more than one college. They do not usually get involved in the internal affairs of any school or college.

The research did not discover any comprehensive statement of educational policy for the university. What does exist is a series of policies which, taken together, constitute the way things are done and are an underlying set of values on which actions are based. Thus, the university has only general policies or guidelines for minimum requirements for general education, criteria for tenure and promotion, and decisions on curricular matters. Several interviewees complained that, given the great autonomy of the colleges, it is difficult for university-wide committees to make decisions which would have any great effect on the educational policies of a college or the university as a whole.

There appears to be little, if any, central review of specific internal educational policies of a college. Instead, central administrators and Senate committees tend to deal with general matters that cut across colleges. For example, this report has already noted that the Educational Policy Committee and the Senate have recently considered such questions as the combination of two math departments, the creation of a College of Biological Sciences, a proposal on classified research policy, and the place of ROTC in the university.

There have been some significant educational policy matters, however, which were not given formal consideration either by the Educational Policy Committee or the Senate. For example, action on the proposal for a Department of Afro-American Studies was spurred by the Morrill Hall sit-in of January 1969, although there had

been efforts to get it underway before that time. The initial committee was appointed by the central university administration, which issued its recommendation to the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts. The proposal was then considered entirely within the college structure and went directly to the Academic Vice-president and then to the Regents. Neither the Senate nor its Committee on Educational Policy was involved. This very important proposal was considered an internal problem for the College of Liberal Arts.

Another important case illustrative of the point that the Senate is sometimes by-passed on important educational policy decisions involved the Department of Criminal Justice Studies. This department has temporary accreditation and status for the 1969-70 year and reports to the Academic Vice-president. Regardless of the merits of the procedures followed to establish the department, documentary, interview, and other evidence confirm the essential fact that neither the Senate nor its Committee on Educational Policy were directly involved in the decision (Minnesota Daily, 1970).

The important point is that no clear guidelines have been drawn to determine when a matter concerns an internal college solely and when it concerns the entire campus. Internal college problems have usually been fought out in the college and ultimately decided by the dean or a committee.

Much of the university Senate committee's time appears to have been used in "fire-fighting," that is, in meeting the challenges of daily problems that arise. There has been little time for

long-range educational planning, and practically no systematic or comprehensive review of the present educational situation outside of the "fire-fighting" activities. When reviews have been made, they usually have been made by task forces appointed by the president for a specific problem. A committee on long-range planning has been constituted and presumably will begin to examine the educational policies of the university in a more comprehensive manner.

In addition to the three aforementioned Senate committees, the Faculty Consultative Committee also plays a role in general educational policy. Although, as the chief faculty voice, the Faculty Consultative Committee does counsel the president on major questions of educational policy, discussions usually have been limited to university-wide issues and have not considered the problems of a particular college unless these were thought to have a wider reference.

Task Forces and Advisory Committees

Two other consultative devices which this research did not analyze systematically, but which appear to provide significant opportunities for faculty-administrative contact, are task forces and non-Senate committees and boards.

Some interview respondents expressed concern over the increasing number of presidential task forces being appointed. The 1967-68 Committee on Senate Committees, however, recommended that such task forces be created by joint faculty-administrative action in order to provide a mroe fluid and flexible instrument for

intensive study of specific and limited subjects. During recent years task forces have been appointed to report on student representation in governance, campus demonstration policies, the Morrill Hall incident, community programs, disadvantaged students, student aids, social policy, and equal employment opportunities. The membership of task forces can include student, faculty, and/or administrators.

These task forces have issued reports which were then processed by the appropriate university machinery. A high ranking member of the administration reported that the ambiguities created by the Senate reorganization of 1968-69 have resulted in more task forces than would otherwise have been necessary. The administration says it hopes that regular Senate committees can be used more regularly in the future.

The university also has had 20 to 30 non-Senate advisory committees whose membership was regularly reported in Senate Minutes. These committees were advisory to the administration or an organizational unit, and dealt with subjects like computer facilities, foreign students, insurance and retirement, space allocation, schedules, parking, student behavior, tenure, the University Press, and safety and welfare.

AUTHORITY AND POWER RELATIONSHIPS

A major concern of the present study was the nature and extent of "shared authority" at the University of Minnesota.

Universities are often referred to as "academic communities" and "collegial institutions." These terms imply a different kind of authority relationship than that found in business, government, or military organizations where the bureaucratic or hierarchical model of authority is said to prevail.

Theoretically, of course, all powers reside with the Regents of the University of Minnesota, but in practice, they delegate certain powers: The Senate Constitution (1969) states:

> All matters relating to the educational and administrative affairs of the University, consistent with actions or policies of the Regents of the University of Minnesota heretofore or hereafter taken or established and including those incident to the management of the student body are, for the purpose of effectuating the government of the University under and by the Regents, committed to the President, the University Senate, and the several faculties, as herein provided [p. 1].

As chief executive officer of the university, the president of the university:

> ...shall be the representative of the Regents, the Senate, the Faculties, and the students, and the chief executive officer of the University. He shall have general administrative authority over University affairs [p. 1].

Further, provision for consultation on budgetary matters is specifically written into the constitution, which charges the president to "consult with and ask for the recommendations of the All-university Administrative Committee and the Senate Consultative

Committee concerning such budgetary recommendations as materially affect the University as a whole [p. 1]."

By adopting an issue oriented perspective, this research sought to examine the extent to which authority is shared and the extent and effectiveness of faculty participation in the governance of the university. The preceding sections discussed the legal authority structure, the general operative machinery of the university Senate, and the role of faculty in policy development in four areas. The concluding sections consider the general impact of some of the major components of the academic community and the possible consequences and trends that may be emerging.

As appears to be the case in many colleges and universities, there has been at best only moderate faculty interest in the university Senate and its activities. Only about 25 percent of the faculty bothered to respond to the survey made by the Committee on Committees to determine interest in committee service in 1968-69. Even those faculty elected Academic Senators appear to have been rather apathetic about their responsibilities; respondents continually complained about the problem of getting a quorum at Senate meetings. Even the controversial proposal for extensive revamping of the Senate failed to draw the 140 elected Senators necessary to pass the legislation.

The reasons for this apathy are numerous. It is generally acknowledged that there is little or no reward in the academic community for Senate or committee service, since publications are the main criteria in judging professional competence. Many faculty

also feel that the Senate does not do anything important, and some see it as a forum where pompous professors exchange dreary speeches. Others see it as a place for campus politicians to exercise their trade, while still others feel that the really important issues either by-pass the Senate or are pushed through the Senate without thorough consideration.

On the other hand, many respondents expressed an optimistic view of the role and power of the Senate. Some saw it as truly effective in shaping the character of the university.

Perhaps the dominant view was that the Senate is a potentially effective body which, as a representative of the collective power that resides in the faculty, has the prerogative of taking drastic action. This it has not done, primarily, it is felt, because the administration and the Regents, respecting the power of the Senate, have consulted it and have made decisions within the faculty's "zone of acceptance."

The functioning of the Senate is limited by a number of factors which force it to deal mainly with general policy statements. Of principal importance is the constitutional provision which gives the Senate general legislative authority over educational matters concerning the university as a whole, but not over the internal affairs of the colleges or schools. Also operative is the apparent tradition at Minnesota of handling most matters informally. Several respondents expressed the desire to work things out informally and

to avoid elaborate documents or Senate machinery which would only complicate decision making. As one respondent put it, "There are perhaps 75 to 100 leaders here who have been together a long time. We know and trust each other, and we can work out informal agreements." Some faculty feel that the ability to work things out informally means that the "same old comfortable faces" that keep appearing on Senate committees make the decisions.

Many respondents stated that the Senate appears to be an important voice in the governance of the University of Minnesota, but not the important voice. Real power appears to lie with the vice-presidents and the president. One respondent stated, "The deans really aren't a very effective part of the management team at Minnesota. Unlike other institutions where I have served, the management team here is composed of the president and his vice-presidents. The deans are really not a part of this inner cadre." While the Senate is consulted and does help make general policies, many cases can be found where the administration made the decision that it wanted to make. The decision to move to the West Bank Campus, the recent appointment of a vice-president, the establishment of the Department of Criminal Justice Studies, and the general budget-making process at the university are cases which indicate that if the administration chooses, it can ignore or by-pass Senate advice on important issues. How often this can be done is, of course, open to speculation. There are indications, however, that although it probably cannot be done too often, decisions can

be made contrary to a Senate recommendation with little apparent consequence beyond the initial cries of outrage. Because many of the Senators are "quasi-administrators" anyway, the instances of conflict between Senate proposals and administrative action appear to be relatively infrequent.

Some attribute this lack of conflict to a long tradition of good faculty-administrative relationships. Others feel that it is due to the lack of an effective faculty voice (there is only one faculty professional association of any consequence at Minnesota--the AAUP, which is moderate in temper) and to the rule of the same old faces over the years.

The "real" reason for the lack of conflict is probably related to both factors. The survey team found a surprisingly high faculty regard for administrative officers. Many of the present administrators were characterized as good academic men who are sensitive to faculty views and perform their functions competently. Many were active in the faculty before taking administrative positions; for example, the Academic Vice-president was elected to the Faculty Consultative Committee and served as its chairman for several years.

The seeds of increased conflict within the faculty and between the faculty and administration may have been sown, however, by the organization of radical faculty into the Faculty Action Caucus.

Faculty Action Caucus

In the spring and fall of 1969 a group of faculty, self-identified as radicals, began to meet and discuss their general

dissatisfactions and their inability to effectively influence either the Senate or the administration. Documentary analysis and interviews with members of this group, now called the Faculty Action Caucus, indicate that the seeds of overt conflict have been sown.

A few of the radical forces had periodically discussed the possibility of organizing a Senate Caucus, but the catalyst for action appears to have been a strike of science faculty at M.I.T. on March 4, 1969. This gave some radical faculty a "reading" on the extent of radicalism at Minnesota and led to the compilation of a mailing list of 500 faculty who had signed anti-war literature or who were thought to be sympathetic to liberal-radical causes. Although these letters were not delivered by campus mail in time to be of use, the first formal meeting of the caucus was attended by from 50 to 80 faculty. According to the four caucus members interviewed, approximately 15 to 20 faculty members continue to meet weekly to discuss strategies and issued for caucus activity.

The actual and potential impact of the caucus is difficult to assess accurately at this early stage of its development, but it would be a mistake to judge it solely on its numbers for two reasons. First, the caucus is receiving active support from the Minnesota Daily through editorials and articles about its activities and viewpoints. Second, the new role of students in the Senate is yet to be determined, but there are indications that students, especially those elected to the Senate, are more sympathetic to

radical causes than a strictly faculty Senate is likely to be. Interview respondents reported that the caucus was active in arranging for a special Assembly meeting and in getting a resolution supporting the Vietnam Moratorium passed. According to one respondent, a roll call vote established the fact that a majority of faculty members either opposed the resolution or were opposed to the Assembly taking a stand on a political issue, but a coalition of students and radical and liberal faculty produced enough votes to pass the resolution.

While it is unrealistic to attribute all the support for the Vietnam Moratorium resolution solely to the caucus, it does serve as an example of how an organized faculty minority can be effective in politicizing the Senate. The viability of the Faculty Action Caucus in the long run will probably depend on the extent to which the group is able to draw on non-members for support on selected issues. Interviews revealed that caucus leaders are aware of the need for support from non-members and that the group invites any individual to join in pursuing any issue, membership in the Caucus not being a prerequisite for such participation. Other issues which the caucus wants to examine include the elimination of ROTC and of secret research on the campus, reorganization of the Graduate School, establishment of an experimental college, reorganization of the assembly and Seante to eliminate presidential control over appointments to committees, increased politicization of the

university—i.e., overt university involvement in political issues and in minority or "human" rights (Minnesota Daily, 1969).

The future of the caucus probably depends on whether or not there are sufficient liberal-radical elements on the Twin Cities campus to sustain pressure on the administration and on faculty organizations. Should the caucus succeed in electing a larger number of sympathizers to the Assembly, for example, the potential for polarization will increase substantially. The immediate impact of the caucus will probably be seen as a result of its support for an experimental college, its agitation for the university to discontinue all classified and/or secret research, and other such ad hoc issues.

In general, however, faculty-administrative relationships at Minnesota appear to be relatively civil compared with those at the University of California at Berkeley and Fresno State College, the other two institutions involved in the Center's study of faculty governance. There is a general respect in the faculty for the competence and integrity of the administrators, and a cognizance on the part of the administrators of the importance of faculty views. The autonomy of constituent colleges and departments is well established and this probably adds to the lack of conflict at the central level. The tacit agreement that evidently exists that certain matters are outside the purview of central administrators may be the basis of mutual trust between faculty and administrators at Minnesota.

The reorganization of the university Senate represents an attempt on the part of both faculty and administration to meet the demands of the contemporary situation in higher education. Minnesota has been progressive in many ways with respect to problems of governance(for example, students have sat on Senate committees for years), and the university's experiment with a student-faculty Senate will be one to watch.

SUMMARY

For this study of faculty participation in governance at the University of Minnesota, the structure and substance of the university Senate and of some of its key committees were examined, as were the extent and effect of faculty participation in policy development and implementation of personnel, budget, curriculum, and educational policy.

Forty-four individuals were interviewed, among them vice-presidents, chairmen and members of key Senate committees, AAUP members, and faculty members and administrative officers representing several schools and colleges of the university, and college and university documents were examined.

The university Senate was shown to be an elected, representative organization, with the president serving as chairman with the assistance of an elected vice-chairman and an appointed clerk. Over the years a number of changes have occurred in the structure of the Senate, including the change to a representative body, the creation of a

Faculty Consultative Committee, the organization of a Committee on Senate Committees, and most recently, a reorganization to make the Senate a multi-campus organization that will involve extensive student participation.

It was found that department and/or college faculties play a powerful role in matters related to personnel and curriculum, a significant role in the development of educational policy, and a very limited role in the preparation and administration of the budget.

The different degrees of faculty participation on these issues was attributed to several reasons: There was a high degree of college autonomy, with each college relatively free to handle its internal affairs in the way it chose. There was also a constitutional provision which limited the power of the university Senate to matters of university-wide concern and prohibited intrusion into the affairs of any college unless their concerns clearly affected other colleges. Since there was, in addition, little or no central review of personnel or curricular matters once they left the college, this left great power in the hands of the college and its faculty.

Matters relating to educational policy and budget appeared to be ones in which the faculty voice was less influential (at least when compared with faculty power on personnel and curriculum matters). There were many kinds of educational policies--departmental,

college-wide, and university-wide. There was no basic, formally enacted educational policy for the university as a whole, but rather a series of general statements about various issues. These statements, taken together, constituted the educational policies of the university. While faculty voice in the development of these policies appeared to be substantial, it was not as effective as the faculty voice in personnel and curricular matters. This is not to imply that the faculty voice was unimportant, but that the combination of administrative expertise and authority coupled with the influence of many quasi-administrators in positions of power on Senate committees made it possible for the administration to dominate the decision-making process, and even to override faculty opinion in a manner not so easily possible in personnel and curricular affairs. Administrators evidently did not assert this authority very frequently, but there were several instances of administrators acting on important matters without faculty consultation or concurrence.

Faculties played a significant role in developing educational policies within the colleges. It was on major university-wide issues that faculty voice carries less weight.

Budgeting was the process about which faculty were relatively uninformed, participated in the least, and influenced least. The Faculty Consultative Committee was generally consulted about budgetary principles and directions, but usually too little and too late to have great significance in final budgetary decisions. Most of the

financial allocations were determined by formula, and the remainder for the most part by the vice-presidents, deans, and department chairmen. On budgetary matters, effective power or significant influence did not lie with the faculty. Its voice was sometimes heard, but it was not necessarily determining.

Generally, faculty-administrative relationships were good--at least as appraised by the interviewees. Although there did appear to be a faculty oligarchy composed of persons who have served on many Senate committees over a long period of time, the oligarchy's rule did not seem to disturb the faculty--which could mean either that the faculty did not care, or that the oligarchs were doing an effective job. The relative absence of serious conflict leads one to believe that both faculty oligarchs and administrators were working effectively, either in concert or by not interfering with one another. Administrators appeared to be generally respected for their integrity and competence, an opinion not universally held by faculty about administrators in higher education across the nation.

In essence, faculty participation in governance at Minnesota depended on the matters at issue. The faculties have substantial power over personnel, curriculum, and educational policy, but mainly in the colleges. The university Senate had limited influence on the budget. The Senate appeared to generate little interest in the faculty at large, and it has been controlled for years by a number of "oligarchs" who have participated extensively in Senate

activities.

The Senate's awareness of its potential power has led both administrators and its own committees to keep decisions within a tolerable "zone of faculty acceptance" in most instances. On occasions when the administration did overstep this bound, the Senate reacted, sometimes backing down and sometimes asserting its will. Cases of overstepping the zone of acceptance have been infrequent, however, a tribute to the combination of good faculty-administrative relationships, informal contacts, reasonably open lines of communication, faculty apathy, and decentralized decision-making over educational programs and faculty personnel.

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APPENDIX

The Committee Structure of the University of Minnesota Senate and the Twin Cities Assembly After the July 1, 1969 Reorganization

Standing Committees 1968-69	Senate and University Committees July 1, 1969	Twin Cities Assembly & Campus Committees July 1, 1969
Audio Visual Aids	Academic Standing and Relations	Business and Rules Committees
Business and Rules	Administrative	Educational Policy
Educational Policy	University Honors	Convocations and the Arts
Faculty Consultative	Printing and Publications	Educational Services
Institutional Relationships	Committee on Committees	Honors Programs
Institutional Research	Consultative	ROTC
Intercollegiate Athletics	Business and Rules	Intercollegiate Athletics
Judicial	Educational Policy	Student Affairs
Library	Council on Liberal Education	Intramural and Extramural Activities
Planning	Extension	Judiciary Council
ROTC	Computing Facilities	Foreign Students
Senate Committees	Instructional Materials	
Student Affairs	Summer Sessions	
Student Scholarship Standing	Faculty Affairs	
University Functions	Tenure	
University Printing and Publications	Judicial	
All-university Extension	Library	
Faculty Welfare	Research	
All-university Council on Liberal Education	Use of Human Subjects in Investigation	
University Administrative Committee	Resources and Planning	
Admissions Policy		
Closed-Circuit TV		